




SELECT ADDRESSES
OF WASHINGTON
WEBSTER AND LINCOLN

SULLIVAN



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
State of Indiana through the Indiana State Library

1908

not in 11

THE APPLETON
ENGLISH CLASSICS

THE APPLETON ENGLISH CLASSICS

Shakspeare's Tragedy of Macbeth
The Sir Roger De Coverley Papers.
George Eliot's Silas Marner.
Selections from Milton's Shorter Poems.
Macaulay's Essays on Milton, Addison and
Johnson.
Dryden's Palamon and Arcite
Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner,
and Other Poems.
Burke's Speech on Conciliation With the
American Colonies.
Select Addresses of Washington, Webster
and Lincoln.
Carlyle's Essay on Burns.
Huxley's Autobiography and Essays.
Lamb, Selected Essays.
Tennyson's Idylls of the King
Tennyson's The Princess
Shakspeare's Julius Caesar
Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice
Scott's Ivanhoe
Scott's Lady of the Lake
Scott's Quentin Durward
Goldsmith's The Traveller and The De-
serted Village
Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield
Browning's Select Poems
Stevenson's Treasure Island

SELECT ADDRESSES
OF
WASHINGTON,
WEBSTER,
AND
LINCOLN

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY

JAMES SULLIVAN, PH.D.

PRINCIPAL OF THE BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL, BROOKLYN, N. Y.



NEW YORK
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY

COPYRIGHT, 1908, BY
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY

Printed in the United States of America.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.	
INTRODUCTION	1
Suggested Readings	7
THE ADDRESS	9
NOTES	31
WEBSTER'S FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION.	
INTRODUCTION	43
Suggested Readings	52
THE ORATION	53
NOTES	79
LINCOLN'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.	
INTRODUCTION	87
THE ADDRESS	89
LINCOLN'S THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.	
INTRODUCTION	91
Suggested Readings	94
THE ADDRESS	95
NOTES	97

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

INTRODUCTION.

WASHINGTON'S *Farewell Address to the People of the United States* is not only a great historical paper, but a composition of such excellent phrasing and form that it may be studied as a model of expository and argumentative writing.

To understand its historical significance, the reader should know well the history of this country from the adoption of the Articles of Confederation (1781) to the publication of the Address (1796). There is scarcely a topic of our domestic or foreign policy, of politics, finance, industry, education, and religion, that is not touched by Washington's broad commentary. Each new detail learned will add significance or emphasis to some sentence of the Address, for the condition of the country and every item of its history lay clearly in Washington's mind as he wrote. The Notes of the present edition explain the allusions as they occur, thereby giving a fairly comprehensive view of the period covered by the Address. They should be read carefully in connection with the text. But as no brief treatment can show the full force and bearing of the whole, certain additional readings are suggested (p. 7), which will well repay the time given to them.

Every literary composition expresses in some degree the personality of its author, for it is some part of the man's thought and feeling put into words. It was not possible for Washington to write on the subject that was the most vital to him—the welfare of his country—in phrases unmarked by the qualities that had distinguished his own life of service for it. So, in appreciating the dignity, simplicity, and clearness of his style; the precision that determines the choice of each word; the logic of each argument, and the force with which it is presented; as well as the moderation, directness, and appeal of the whole, the reader is appreciating the characteristics of Washington himself. In this literary connection, therefore, as well as historically, the life of the author is interesting and valuable. (See pp. 3 and 4.)

To analyze the composition of the Address, the student should make a topical outline that will show the large topics treated and the subdivisions of each. By aid of this he will easily see how the Address conforms to the convention of salutation, address proper, and peroration; by what means the transitions are made from one topic to another; where climax is used, where contrast, and to what end; what parts are balanced one against the other; what subjects receive most emphasis; what is the tendency of the argument throughout. By examining carefully the structure of the sentences and the words chosen,—heeding in this connection the questions and suggestions in the Notes,—he will appreciate how concisely and exactly each expression conveys the meaning intended, and with what nicety balance and antithesis are used.

In some points of style the Address is far different from the addresses of Lincoln, the one President with whom we compare Washington. But the easy and delightful simplicity of Lincoln's political papers would

almost have brought a charge of illiteracy against him, had he written them in the eighteenth century. Washington represented an age when the heavy style of Samuel Johnson was still in vogue. The use of long and involved sentences and words of Latin origin was in keeping with the ceremonious formalism of the time. Yet, compared with the documents of contemporary statesmen, the Address is remarkable for its greater simplicity.

The following outline will serve to recall to the student the many years during which Washington was in the service of his country:

- 1732. Born in Virginia, *February 22d.*
- 1748. Surveyed Lord Fairfax's lands in the Shenandoah Valley.
- 1751. Commissioned Major in the provincial army of Virginia.
- 1753. Sent by Governor Dinwiddie to bear his message to the French on the Ohio.
- 1754. Sent to occupy outposts on the Ohio; conducted the opening skirmishes of the French and Indian War.
- 1755. Aide to General Braddock in his campaign.
- 1755-1758. Reorganized the provincial army of Virginia, engaged in protecting the frontier against Indian raids.
- 1758. Appointed to the command of the Virginia troops; conducted second expedition against Fort Duquesne.
- 1758-1773. Member of the Virginia House of Burgesses.
- 1759. Married Martha Custis.
- 1774. Delegate to the First Continental Congress.
- 1775. Delegate to the Second Continental Congress.
- 1775-1783. Commander in Chief of the Revolutionary Army.

1783-1789. At Mount Vernon.

1789. President of the Constitutional Convention.

1789-1797. President of the United States.

1797. Commissioned Lieutenant General to command the army in prospect of a war with France.

1799. Died, *December 14th*.

The comparatively small amount of space given in many school histories to Washington's administration should not mislead the student to underestimate his services as a statesman.

It should be remembered that, when Washington undertook the Presidency, this country as a Union had no precedents of government whatever. The Articles of Confederation had not created a Union. They had merely bound the states (Article III) into "a firm league of friendship for . . . their mutual and general welfare," and the authority delegated to the General Congress of the Confederation was for the most part dictated and controlled by the state governments. The state constitutions and the colonial charters out of which they grew had governed only small localities, each united in interests and traditions. The new Constitution was to hold together a wide territory comprised of many sections of different heritage in laws, occupations, customs, traditions, and religion. In the common interest and danger of war, all had united; but now that normal living had been resumed, each section was eager to advance its own interests.

To blot out sectionalism and to build up the Union was Washington's one far-sighted aim. It was his great faith in the possibilities of the country, combined with his prophetic wisdom and forbearance in overcoming jealousies, insurrections, infatuations, and even treasons, that brought the country safely through these first eight years.

It is notable, too, that, even while the nation was in political and financial insecurity, the President was advocating before Congress internal improvements, the encouragement of invention, and the establishment of educational institutions. Washington was practical and shrewd, and because of his far-sighted logic he was a great constructive leader. When he appealed to the people he did so, not by playing on their sentiments and prejudices, but by emphasizing the advantages of this or that course to their economic welfare. Note in illustration of this paragraphs 11 and 27 of the Address.

Jefferson, who had been for some years estranged from Washington because of their political differences, wrote of him in a letter after his death, "His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known; no motive of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man." The Englishman James Bryce, speaking in his *American Commonwealth* of "the ideal President, the great and good man above and outside party," says, "The ideal was realized once and only once in the person of George Washington." Washington showed a rare self-restraint. There was a total absence from his character of any lust for power. He was placed in the exalted position of an Alexander, a Cæsar, and a Cromwell; but he resolutely put aside the temptations to which they succumbed and conducted himself as the fellow-citizen, not the master, of the people among whom he lived. In this spirit of modesty and democracy he wrote the *Farewell Address*.

Toward the close of his first term of office Washington was planning to retire, and only the urgent requests

of his friends induced him to serve a second term. In the spring of 1792—that is, before the time for a second election—he wrote to Madison, whom he had previously consulted on the subject, asking him to prepare for him a suitable valedictory address to the public, and outlining in the letter what he wished to say. Since, however, he accepted a second term, he withheld Madison's draft until May, 1796, when he amplified and amended it and sent it to Hamilton for revision, with a letter reading in part as follows:

“Even if you should think it best to throw the whole into a different form, let me request, notwithstanding, that my draught may be returned to me (along with yours) with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of; curtailed if too verbose; and relieved of all tautology not necessary to enforce the ideas in the original or quoted part. My wish is that the whole may appear in a plain style, and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple part.”

Hamilton called John Jay into consultation, and when he returned Washington's paper he sent with it a parallel manuscript embodying certain alterations and slight additions. Washington then took Hamilton's draft, accepted some suggestions, rejected others, and somewhat simplified the language throughout.

The result, therefore, though not Washington's in every detail, is essentially his. The style is that of all his other state papers and addresses. It is to the credit of his caution that he sought the best advice before putting out a paper which time has proved more influential than even his far-seeing eye could have estimated it would be.

The Address was not intended to be delivered orally.

Washington gave it to Mr. Claypoole, proprietor of the *American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia, then the national capital, to be printed in his issue of September 19, 1796. When it appeared on that day, however, it was dated September 17th, contrary to the date on the manuscript; and the earlier date has often been erroneously quoted as that of its publication. The Address made no stir at the time. The circumstances that prompted it, and Washington's attitude, were too familiar to provoke comment. But little by little, as time removed these conditions, it was recognized as a touchstone of political doctrine and a model of style.

SUGGESTED READINGS.

John Bach McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*. Vol. II, pp. 85-88, and Chapters VIII and IX.

James Bryce, *American Commonwealth*. Vol. I, pp. 20-92, and Chapter XXXV; Vol. II, pp. 6, 7, 388, and 389.

William Macdonald, *Select Documents of United States History, 1776-1861*. Articles of Confederation, Hamilton's First and Second Reports on Public Credit, Proclamation of Neutrality, Treaty with Great Britain, Washington's Message on the Insurrection in Pennsylvania.

Washington Irving, *George Washington*.

Henry Cabot Lodge, *George Washington* (Statesmen Series).

E. E. Seelye, *Story of Washington*.

H. E. Scudder, *George Washington* (Riverside Literature Series).

B. T. Johnson, *General Washington* (Great Commanders Series).

WASHINGTON'S

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

To the PEOPLE of the United States:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

1. The period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

2. I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

3. The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your

desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

4. I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

5. The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

6. In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

7. Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude

for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

8. Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

9. The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming

yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

10. For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

11. But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

12. The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *South* in the same intercourse, benefitting by the Agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the sea-

men of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated;—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted.—The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*.—Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

13. While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations;—and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise

they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

14. These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'T is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

15. In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *Geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these

misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negociation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with aliens?

16. To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable.—No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and con-

taining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government.—But, the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

17. All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government;

destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

18. Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts.—One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

19. I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let

me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

20. This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

21. The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.—The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

22. Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

23. It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one

country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

24. There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into flame, lest, instead of warming it should consume.

25. It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own

eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

26. Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens.—The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

27. 'T is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can

look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

28. Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.—In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

29. As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear.—The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.—To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

30. Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; Religion

and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

31. In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility

instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

32. So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

33. As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

34. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other.—Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

35. The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

36. Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

37. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external

annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

38. Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice?

39. 'T is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

40. Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

41. Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing,

with powers so disposed—in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 't is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'T is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

42. In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

43. How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To my-

self, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

44. In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22nd of April 1793 is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

45. After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

46. The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

47. The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

48. The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

49. Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error: I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

50. Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 17th September, 1796.

NOTES.

The text of the Address is that of its original publication in the *American Daily Advertiser*, excepting one or two corrections of obvious typographical errors. It is interesting to note in what cases spelling, punctuation, and the use of capitals differ from current uses.

¶ 1.—period for a new election: (See the Constitution, Article II, Section 1.) By statute the election of the electors of the President was, in 1792, placed on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Here Washington refers to the election to take place in November, 1796.—appears to me proper . . . made: "Twice had Washington been chosen by the unanimous vote of the electoral college, and twice inaugurated with the warmest approbation of the whole people. But the times had greatly changed. In 1789 and 1792 every man was for him. In 1796, in every town and city of the land were men who denounced him as an aristocrat, as a monocrat, as an Anglo-maniac. . . . Yet, much as his popularity had suffered, it was still great and powerful, and thousands of men in the Republican party would gladly have seen him seated for a third term in the presidential chair." (McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 289.) The Address was published September 19, 1796, in the *American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia. (For the circumstances of its production see Introduction, pp. 5-7.)

¶ 2.—which . . . imply: What word does the clause modify?

¶ 3.—The acceptance of . . . drawn: After more than thirty years of public service, Washington had had but a scant four years in which to enjoy the quiet of his Mount Vernon home. Practically, he had been called to guide the country through another struggle—a warfare of conflicting opinions in the work of reconstruction; and, during his first term, the petty bickerings of states and statesmen made the task not only more

difficult, but personally distasteful.—last election: November, 1792.—affairs with foreign nations: with (1) England, (2) France, and (3) Spain. (1) Neither England nor the United States had entirely lived up to the treaty of 1783. England had placed restrictions against our trade in her ports, had refused to pay damages for private merchantmen captured during the war, and was impressing our seamen into her service. She had retained the military posts on the northern and western frontiers; in fact, profiting from the fur trade, and maintaining influence over the Indians that she might make allies of them in case of further hostilities, but giving, as her open excuse, a retort that the loyalists here had been severely treated, and that some of the states had passed laws interposing legal impediments to the recovery of debts due to British subjects. Her complaint was not unfounded. In a letter to a member of Congress, Washington wrote: "It was impolitick and unfortunate, if not unjust, in those states to pass laws, which, by fair construction, might be considered as infractions of the treaty of peace. . . . Had we observed good faith, and the western posts had been withheld from us by Great Britain, we might have appealed to God and man for justice." A further cause of dispute was the undetermined boundary between Maine and Canada. (2) France was on the verge of war with England; and, despite the treaty of 1778, by which we had granted to France alone certain privileges in our ports and agreed to help her in case she were attacked by other countries, it was necessary now that we should preserve strict neutrality toward both nations, or, as an ally of France, be drawn into the war. France looked to the United States for some return for the aid she had given this country during its Revolution, and was watchfully jealous of any attempt on our part to straighten out our difficulties with England. (3) For thirteen years the Government in this country had been trying to effect a treaty that should insure to its western frontier the use of the Mississippi south of the thirty-first parallel, both banks of the river beyond this point being in the Spanish territory of Louisiana. The boundary of Florida, which had been Spanish property since 1783, was another subject of disagreement; and the whole matter was further complicated by Spain's hostility to France. Before Washington's second inauguration both Spain and England had joined the coalition of

European countries against France.—**persons:** particularly Hamilton and Madison.

¶ 4.—**state of your concerns:** (1) The Jay treaty of 1795 had adjusted most of our troubles with England. (2) In the same year, by treaty with Spain, we had obtained the free navigation of the Mississippi. (3) The extravagant devotion to the French cause, which had almost disrupted the country, had subsided. France had objected to the Jay treaty on the ground that it gave to England commercial privileges that were denied to herself; but Washington was at this time awaiting the result of Pinckney's mission to France, which, as he hoped, would adjust this and other points of dispute and bring about a general conciliation with that country. (4) In 1794, General Wayne had completely defeated the Ohio Indians; and the Greenville treaty with the chiefs in 1795 had put an end to the terror of Indian uprising in the West. (5) The Whiskey Rebellion was over, and the right and ability of the Government to enforce its laws had been demonstrated.

¶ 5.—**occasion:** in his Inaugural Address of April 30, 1789. —**organization . . . government:** The first business of the new Government, when Washington took office in 1789, was to establish and organize three executive departments—the Department of State (at first called the Department of Foreign Affairs), the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of War—and the office of Attorney General, and to set up a Post Office and a system of courts, for which the Constitution had provided only in the most general terms.—**not unconscious . . . myself:** That is, "I was not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications; and experience has, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, strengthened the reasons why I should lack confidence in myself." This is a striking example of the conciseness and precision of Washington's style. No synonym for "diffidence" so well expresses what he means.—**encreasing weight of years:** How old was Washington at this time?

¶ 6.—**suspend:** What synonym could be substituted here?—**incitement:** How does the word differ in meaning from "excitement"?—**vows:** used here with the meaning of "prayers." —**in fine:** in conclusion.

¶ 7.—**occasion:** probably the issue, June 8, 1783, of his *Circular Letter Addressed to the Governors of all the States on*

Disbanding the Army, in which he advised remedies for certain defects of the Government under the Articles of Confederation.

¶ 9.—this is the point . . . directed: Too many incidents of the administration had given direct cause for this warning. Already the country was divided into two political parties. The Federal party, led by Hamilton, argued for a strong central government that should control all policies affecting the country as a whole, such as those of currency, revenue, and commerce. This party represented the northeastern, or commercial and manufacturing states. The Republican party, led by Jefferson, magnified the rights of the individual and the importance and power of the local state governments, and was strongest in the middle and southern, or agricultural states. The adherents of the latter party had been inflamed by the French minister, Genet; and within the party there had sprung up clubs, known as Democratic Societies, who, often secretly, but always under the guise of patriotism, made it their business to incite opposition to all national measures. Furthermore, because of the delay in securing from Spain the free navigation of the Mississippi, sections of the West had been misguided into threats of secession and of alliance with Spain in order to secure this commercial advantage. Trade disadvantages had provoked the South likewise to talk of secession. (The bitterness in the West and the South is explained more in detail under paragraphs 12 and 15.)—*palladium*: What is the meaning and origin of this word?

¶ 10.—You . . . successes: Lincoln later said that the Union was older than the states, and Washington gives expression to the same idea here.—*Independence and Liberty*: What is the difference in these two ideas? (See definition, and note on Declaration of Independence, under "Independence," *Webster International Dictionary*.) Compare Washington's use of the words, ¶ 9.

¶ 12.—*equal laws*: Read the sixth clause of the ninth section of Article I of the Constitution: "No preference should be given," etc. What synonym would modern usage suggest in place of "equal"? Under the Articles of Confederation, the legislatures of the different states could, with but slight restriction, lay any import or export duties they thought advisable. The inland states and those that lacked good harbors, as did most of the southern states, received foreign goods

through the medium of the importing states, and had to pay excessive charges covering the import duty. These "consuming states" complained that by the Revolution they had only changed masters, since, "instead of being taxed by Great Britain without their consent, they were virtually taxed in like manner by their sister states." No section was willing to sacrifice its local advantage for the general good, and sectional jealousy was very strong. The Constitution put the levying of imposts into the hands of Congress and gave it power to regulate commerce for the benefit of the country as a whole.—**improvement of interior communications:** Washington was one of the first advocates of internal improvements by the national government. As early as 1772 he had called attention to the need of building canals to connect the seaboard and the interior, and of improving the rivers. He had advised the building of the Cumberland Road over the Alleghanies to the Ohio Valley. This was begun by the Government in 1806, and was called the National Road or Turnpike.—**indispensable outlets:** What were the coast boundaries of the country in 1796?—**own separate strength:** In 1793, the French minister Genet had authorized certain Frenchmen to recruit an expedition in Kentucky to go against the Spaniards in New Orleans, France and Spain being then at war. The Kentuckians were so incensed against Spain, on account of the Mississippi question, that they were eager to try their own efforts toward gaining the open passage of the river.—**apostate:** What is the meaning and derivation of the word?

¶ 13.—**rivalships:** Which is now considered the better form, this or "rivalries"? Why?—**overgrown military establishments:** Although Washington did not approve of large standing armies, such as were retained by foreign governments, yet he believed in creating the power and resources to raise quickly an adequate military equipment. In 1782 he had written, "There is nothing which will so soon produce a speedy and honourable peace as a state of preparation for war." (See also ¶ 29 of the Address, and note.)

¶ 14.—**Is there a doubt . . . solve it:** So late as 1832 the Union was regarded as an experiment. In the course of proposing a toast to Washington, on February 22nd of that year, Daniel Webster said: "The world, at this moment, is regarding us with a willing, but something of a fearful admiration. Its

deep and awful anxiety is to learn whether free states **may** be stable, as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted, as well as feared; in short, whether wise, regular, and virtuous self-government is a vision for the contemplation of theorists, or a truth established, illustrated, and brought into practice in the country of Washington."

¶ **15.—treaty with Spain:** See notes under paragraphs 3 and 4.—**how unfounded:** Not entirely unfounded, in view of the fact that, in 1779, the existing Government had expressed itself to Spain as willing, in return for certain advantages, "to relinquish, and in future forbear to use, the navigation of the river Mississippi, from the point where it leaves the United States, down to the ocean"; and that, in 1785, a majority of Congress had voted to barter away for twenty-five years their claim to this navigation, the offset being certain commercial privileges that would advantage especially the trading states of the East. Neither of these propositions had, however, been accepted by Spain.—**that with Great Britain:** (See notes under paragraphs 3 and 4.) The Jay treaty had not secured the admission of our vessels to Canadian ports, exclusion from which meant a serious reduction in our fisheries, nor had it removed the restrictions on our trading with the British West Indies; it did not prevent the impressment of our seamen, nor require British privateers to respect our neutrality in the French war. The treaty was violently denounced throughout the country. The fact was that Americans would not admit that their disadvantageous position in trading with foreign countries was the logical result of their independence and their experimental government. As British colonies they had enjoyed free intercourse with both Canada and the British West Indies. They had had also the protection of the British flag in the Mediterranean. It was claimed now that the British incited the Algerine pirates to attack American vessels.—**Union . . . procured:** While we were under the Articles of Confederation, England and certain other European countries had each refused to make a commercial treaty with us, on the ground that we had not the power to force the several states to abide by its provisions.—**Those advisers:** Most prominent among these was James Wilkinson, a Kentucky merchant, who was strongly suspected of plotting with Spain for the separation of Kentucky from the Union. In Jefferson's administration he was governor of

Louisiana, and was court martialled for supposed complicity with Burr.

¶ 16.—**essay** (Where is the accent in this word? What does the word mean?): the Articles of Confederation. Under the Constitution the Government deals more with the individual citizens, less with the states as units. Among other powers, it can regulate commerce with foreign countries and among the states, enlist an army and a navy, and by direct taxation of the people furnish permanent means for the execution of its provisions.—**Provision . . . amendment**: See the Constitution, Article V.—**The very idea . . . government**: It is a fundamental principle of democratic government that the minority shall obey the will of the majority—a principle that had been violated by Shays' insurrection against the state government of Massachusetts in 1786, and in 1794 by that in Pennsylvania against the excise on whiskey. It may be noted that failure to follow this principle is responsible for the constant revolutions in the South American republics of the present day.

¶ 17.—**obstructions . . . Laws**: During the Whiskey Rebellion the insurrectionists had tarred and feathered, and locked up, the Government inspectors and revenue collectors, and had otherwise hindered Government business.—**combinations and associations**: doubtless the Democratic Societies formed in 1793 (see note under ¶ 9). In his address to Congress in 1794, Washington had spoken of "certain self-created societies" that had "assumed the tone of condemnation" against the excise, and had "disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole Government."—**party**: Though Washington tried to be above party and made up his Cabinet of men reflecting different shades of opinion as to the running of the government, the impossibility of carrying on the government on such a basis soon showed itself. The enmity between Hamilton and Jefferson became so intense that, during Washington's second term, both resigned their positions in the Cabinet. Jefferson's relations with Washington were very bitter; and at the time that Washington wrote the Address, the two were severely estranged. Jefferson had, it was thought, prompted the attacks on Washington that appeared in the *National Gazette*, published by Jefferson's friend, Philip Freneau. This rabid Republican paper persisted in denouncing Washington as a would-be king, and the Fed-

eral leaders as monarchists and plutocrats. It is generally acknowledged now that democratic governments must be run by means of political parties, notwithstanding the evils to which Washington calls attention, all of which have developed in the history of political parties in our country.

¶ 17.—engines: instruments, or agents.

¶ 18.—that experience . . . country: The Constitution itself was based on the experience of the colonial governments and of the states under the Articles of Confederation; that is, it retained the good, and omitted the evils, of what had been already tested.—facility in changes: The Constitution was ratified by the requisite ninth state in June, 1788. By December 15, 1791, ten amendments had been ratified. The eleventh was proposed in March, 1794, but had not been ratified before the publication of the Address. The purpose of all these amendments was to establish certain rights for the states and the individual citizens, thereby providing against extension or abuse of the Federal power in the matters cited. Washington doubtless intended his warning against too great facility in amendment for the followers of Jefferson. Since Washington's day, the Constitution has been changed more by the interpretation of certain clauses by the Supreme Court than it has by amendment.

¶ 21.—alternate domination . . . enormities: for instance, in ancient Rome, the strife between Plebeians and Patricians; in medieval Italy, between Guelfs and Ghibellines; in England, under James II, the cruelties committed by Jeffreys and the "Bloody Assizes" against the opponents of the Stuart cause; and, fresh in Washington's mind, the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution.—the chief . . . Liberty: On such foundation lay the power of Alexander, Sulla, Cæsar, Octavius, and Cromwell.

¶ 23.—foments: What is the meaning and origin of the word? To what does this allude (see note under ¶ 17)?—foreign influence and corruption: See the first note under ¶ 9, and the last under ¶ 12.

¶ 25.—necessity of reciprocal checks . . . eyes: The Constitution provides that the legislative and the executive departments each shall be able to exercise certain checks upon the other, and that the judiciary shall be weighted against both; that, within the legislative department, the two houses of Con-

gress shall each be able to restrain the other; and that the Federal authority as a whole shall be checked by the state governments, and *vice versa*. A change in the balance of power has been taking place gradually, a natural result of the exigencies of government; for example, the Senate and the Supreme Court have grown stronger. Somewhat similarly, the powers of the early Roman Republic were divided and balanced among the two consuls, the Senate, and the Assembly. Likewise, in the eighteenth century, the powers of the English Government were balanced among the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Cabinet, and the Crown. In the course of time, however, the government of Rome fell exclusively into the hands of the Senate, and the government of England is now directed chiefly by the House of Commons and the Cabinet.—**change by usurpation:** When Washington had called for the appropriation necessary to the carrying out of Jay's treaty, the House of Representatives had demanded first to see the papers relating to the treaty. Washington had refused to send them the papers, on the proper grounds that the House had nothing to do with the treaty-making power.

¶ 26.—Whatever may be conceded . . . religious principle: There had developed in the country a numerous body of "free-thinkers." This may be traced to several causes: (1) French influence. Within the class in France that was opposing social caste and the existing political government, there had arisen a lawless class that opposed all authority and order, even that of the church; and an intellectual class that had propounded a philosophy based, as they claimed, on reason, not on faith. Thomas Paine, an American who had done great service with his pen for the cause of the Colonists, and who had later joined the Revolutionists in France, had written, while in prison there, a vehement attack on the Bible. He called his book *The Age of Reason*. It was extolled by many adherents to his philosophy in America, most influential among whom was Thomas Jefferson. (2) The decline of interest in theology. The war, the business of establishing the new Government and of promoting industry and commerce, the union in new interests between sections formerly separated by religious differences, all had turned men's minds from devotion to creed and theological speculation to the logic of practical livelihood. (3) The disabilities of the church itself. Money being depreciated, the sal-

aries of the clergy were frequently wanting, so that many of this class were obliged to turn to secular occupations, and the influence of the church was diminished.

¶ 28.—In Washington's last address to Congress, shortly after the publication of the *Farewell Address*, he strongly advocated the establishment of a national university and an institution for the improvement of agriculture.

¶ 29.—**public credit:** What is the meaning of the term? (See definition under "Credit," in an unabridged dictionary.) It was due to Hamilton's wise management of the finances, while Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's first administration, that the public credit was maintained. His plans for the full payment of both the foreign and the home debt, and for the establishment of a national banking system and a national excise, resulted to this end.—**timely disbursements . . . danger:** In Washington's last address to Congress, he recommended the establishment of a military academy and of national works for manufacturing implements of defence. (See also ¶ 13, and note.)—**the intrinsic embarrassment . . . dictate:** Understand as follows: "Because the selection of the proper objects to be taxed is always a choice of difficulties, therefore the very embarrassment which this choice occasions should move the Government to construe (or explain) openly its method in making the selection, and should call for a spirit of acquiescence on the part of the public in accepting whatever measures may at any time be dictated by public necessity."

¶ 30.—It will be worthy . . . **benevolence:** The United States more than any other nation may lay claim to the honor of having rid diplomatic negotiations between nations of the underhand methods which had prevailed in Europe for centuries.

¶ 31.—**antipathies:** such as the Jeffersonian Republicans had against England and the Federalists against France.—**attachments:** such as the Republicans had for France.—**umbrage:** Supply a synonym.

¶ 32.—**concessions:** See (2) under second note, ¶ 3.—**retaliate:** e. g., England's restrictions on our trade, and her impressment of our seamen.—**to betray,** etc.: e. g., the treasonable action of certain American citizens, after Washington's proclamation of neutrality, in fitting out ships in American ports to cruise in the service of France.

¶ 33.—**foreign influence:** Many examples in history go to

prove the dangers of foreign influence. The independence of many of the Greek city-states was lost because of the ever-present tendency to call in a foreign state to help settle disputes between factions. The same was true of the cities of ancient Italy before Rome became master, and also of the city-republics of Italy during the Middle Ages.

¶ 35.—as little political connection: a policy which this country has undeviatingly followed.

¶ 36.—none: in old style used adjectively before a vowel.

¶ 37.—detached . . . situation: It is to this that the Englishman James Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, attributes much of our great success in government under the Constitution.—acquisitions upon us: “making encroachments upon us,” or, “acquiring anything from us.”—toils: Supply a synonym.

¶ 44.—subsisting war: the coalition of England, Prussia, Austria, Holland, and Spain against France.—Proclamation: When France, relying upon the treaty of 1778, had called upon the United States to help in protecting the French West Indies, Jefferson and the Republicans had favored helping France; but Hamilton and the Federalists had opposed this on the ground that with France the war was not a defensive one, and that the government then in power in France was not the one with which the treaty of 1778 had been made. The latter reason was weak; but Washington sided with Hamilton and issued a Proclamation of Neutrality. Up to this time the position of neutrals in time of war had been poorly defined. In Europe it had been so usual during a war for every nation to be on either one side or the other that neutrals had received little or no consideration. Washington's Proclamation is the most important precedent for the whole subject of neutrality in the International Law.

¶ 46.—admitted by all: After Washington's retirement from office, however, our rights of neutrality were violated by both France and England, and the violations by England eventually led to the War of 1812.

¶ 49.—forty-five years: See Introduction, pp. 3 and 4.

¶ 50.—native soil . . . generation: Washington's great-grandfather, John Washington, came to this country in 1657, and bought land in Virginia.—retreat: In 1797, Washington retired to his home, Mount Vernon.

WEBSTER'S

FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE 17th of June, 1825, was the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. As the time approached, an agitation was begun to have erected on the hill a suitable monument. It would not be the first to mark the battleground; since 1794 a wooden pillar some eighteen feet high, raised on a ten-foot pedestal and surmounted by a gilt urn, had stood as a memorial to General Joseph Warren, who had been killed in the battle. Warren had been a member of the Order of Masons, and the pillar had been erected by the King Solomon Lodge of Charlestown. The new monument, however, was to commemorate not one hero, but the battle itself and the beginning of the liberty and union of the states.

As neither Congress nor the Massachusetts Legislature took any steps to further the project, William Tudor of Boston began, in 1823, a movement which, the following year, resulted in the formation of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. General John Brooks, a veteran of the battle, was chosen president; and on his death, in the spring of 1825, the Honorable Daniel Webster was asked to succeed him.

The funds for the monument were raised by private subscription, and soon money enough had been pledged to warrant preparations for the laying of the corner-

stone on the anniversary of the battle. The trustees of the fund desired Webster to make the address, and this he consented to do.

June 17th dawned brightly, a glorious day; and thousands of people witnessed the official procession and followed it to the hill. The procession started from the State House on Boston Common at about ten o'clock. It was so long that the front had nearly reached Charlestown Bridge before the rear had left the Common—a distance of nearly two miles. In the procession were about two hundred veterans of the Revolution, forty of them being survivors of the battle. After these came the members of the Monument Association and thousands of members of the Order of Masons. Then came General Lafayette, who was on a tour in this country and had especially timed his arrival that he might take part in the ceremonies. The column proceeded to Breed's Hill, the nearer and lower of the two summits that are together commonly called by the name of the higher and more northern, Bunker Hill. It was here on Breed's Hill that the redoubt had been thrown up and that most of the fighting had taken place; and here was performed the ceremony of laying the corner-stone. This done, the dense throng moved to the northern side of the hill and down the slope, where they seated themselves as in a vast amphitheater, covering the hillside from base to summit. At the foot of the slope a platform had been built, and here Webster stood and delivered his oration.

Probably no audience that crowded a Greek hillside to hear Demosthenes or Pericles came with greater expectations than stirred the multitude that day on Bunker Hill. They were to listen to an orator who, even so early in his career, had been ranked with the few of classic fame. Not those ancient Greeks, not Cicero,

Burke, the elder Pitt, or Mirabeau had used logic and eloquence with swifter, surer aim. No American since Washington had labored more to expound the laws of the country, to plead for upholding her honor, and to point the way for legislation. Moreover, Webster was a native of New England, and the echoes of his anniversary oration at Plymouth five years before had not yet died away. Pride of country, pride of possession, memories made intensely vivid by the place, the hour, and the presence of the old soldiers and General Lafayette—these combined with admiration of the orator himself to excite every person there to eager attention.

Webster, with forensic skill, used all these elements in the building of his speech: he reviewed the purpose of the gathering, the significance of the monument; he turned with reverence and admiration to the forty "Venerable Men" who had shared in the battle, and paid eloquent tribute to their fallen comrades; in a few vivid words he repeopled the scene with determined colonists, the British on their ships in the harbor, women and children watching in terror from the house-tops; he addressed the two hundred "Veterans of half a century" with congratulations on the era they had lived to see; he saluted the Marquis de Lafayette with eulogy that in its delicate restraint nobly complimented; he reviewed the great changes of the years that had passed—the national prosperity, the "spark of liberty" imparted to two continents, the struggle then going on; he invited "honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which our country's example has produced" and begged that the sacred obligations which had devolved upon that generation might sink deep into their hearts; and, closing with an appeal for patriotic devotion in union and harmony, he reverted in a splendid metaphor to the monument.

It is not necessary for an occasional address to have unity other than that tested by its appropriateness to the occasion. Such an address is not an argument proceeding by close reasoning along one line from cause to effect, and in the end establishing its hypothesis. Nor is it necessarily an exposition of one theme. If Webster's Address can be said to have a theme, it is that of disinterested patriotism and national unity. This he makes the climax of his speech in those memorable words, "Let our object be, our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country."

Of all styles of oratory that which is commemorative of great men and great events is most difficult. Argumentative eloquence, such as is found in Webster's Reply to Hayne, has for its foundation the points maintained by the opposition; and it is easier to overwhelm an antagonist by a refutation of his arguments than to interest a popular audience by dwelling upon events long past and probably of little moment to it. In commemorative oratory Webster, however, was invariably successful; and on this occasion on Bunker Hill he was exceptionally fortunate in both the event and the audience.

Before the introduction of printing, the rise of the newspapers and the spread of the general ability to read, public opinion was largely formed by addresses of orators to gatherings of the people. The influence of such addresses was perceptibly lessened, however, by the spread of intelligence, especially by means of the daily press. People now go to political or other meetings more or less informed on the subject to be treated, and with opinions already fixed.

In the celebrated series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas, which took place a few years after the death of Webster, the supporters of each debater went to the debate with their minds largely made up, and seldom were they

won over by the arguments of the opposite side. So true of present-day audiences is this prejudice that argumentative oratory is discouraged and is, indeed, said to be a dead art. Our best oratory of the present day is of the commemorative order, yet even in this field no other American has equaled Daniel Webster.

Besides the necessary command of language, the test of good oratory is the ability to hold the audience in suspense, swaying their thoughts and feelings by deft turns of topic, sentiment, and expression. Whoever reads this Bunker Hill oration must notice how skilfully such transitions are made. It was said that Webster had in him the making of an excellent actor, and it is evident that he could calculate effects. Now he lifts his audience with him in the swift ascent of a sonorous period; then, pausing, and beginning anew, he utters with simple directness a personal address. Variety in the length, construction, and rhetorical intention of his sentences gives both grace and vigor to his style. His figurative language is exceptionally beautiful. The metaphors are pure and usually sustained. He inherited from his father the pioneer's love of wild nature, and it is noticeable that his rhetorical figures draw upon the largeness and splendor of the natural world.

Webster had a remarkable physique. He was strong, with an almost superhuman power of endurance. His stature was imposing. He was not much above average height, but his head was unusually large, so that he had the appearance of being much taller than he was. His whole bearing was that of command. His forehead was high, his eyes deep set and lustrous, and his complexion very dark. His mouth, as some one said, could express the whole range of the humanities. His voice, usually deep and sonorous, he could vary to whatever tones he

chose. It was perhaps by the magnetism of this wonderful voice that, more than once, he drew tears from his opponents in the Senate.

The following outline of Webster's life enumerates only his most famous addresses, but it will serve to show how large a figure Webster was in the history of this country for the forty years from his first appearance in Congress, in 1812, until his death, in 1852.

- 1782. Born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, *January 18th.*
- 1797. Entered Dartmouth College.
- 1801. Was graduated from Dartmouth.
- 1805. Admitted to the Bar.
- 1812-1815. Member of the national House of Representatives from Portsmouth, N. H.
- 1816. Removed to Boston.
- 1818. Argued the Dartmouth College case before the Supreme Court.
- 1820. Delivered oration, the *First Settlement of New England*, at Plymouth, on the occasion of the two-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.
- 1822-1827. Member of the national House of Representatives from Boston.
- 1824. Delivered before the House notable speeches: (1) on the Greek Revolution, in support of his motion to send a commissioner to Greece; (2) in reply to Clay's speech advocating a protective tariff.
- 1825. Delivered his *First Bunker Hill Oration*, on the laying of the corner stone of the monument.
- 1826. Delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, commemorative oration on Adams and Jefferson.
- 1827-1841. Member of the United States Senate from Massachusetts.

1830. Delivered before the Senate his *Reply to Hayne*.
1833. Delivered before the Senate his speech, *The Constitution Not a Compact between the States*, in reply to Calhoun's resolution against the Revenue Collection Bill or "Force Act," a bill authorizing the President to collect by force, if necessary, the customs dues in South Carolina.
1836. Received the electoral vote of Massachusetts for the Presidency.
1837. Made a trip through the West, where he was enthusiastically received.
Delivered speech at Niblo's Garden, New York City, on current issues, especially the relation of the Constitution to the question of slavery.
1839. Visited England.
1840. Nominated by the Whigs of Massachusetts for the Presidency.
Toured the country in response to calls for campaign speeches in favor of Harrison.
- 1841-1843. Secretary of State under Harrison and Tyler.
1842. Effected the Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain, determining the northern boundary of Maine.
1843. Resigned from the Cabinet.
Delivered the *Second Bunker Hill Oration* on the completion of the monument.
- 1845-1850. Again a member of the United States Senate from Massachusetts, during which time he opposed the Mexican War and the annexation of Texas; opposed also Calhoun's interpretation of the Constitution by maintaining that a Territory is not a part of the United States, and is therefore governable only by special provision of Congress and

not directly by the provisions of the Constitution.

1848. Failed to receive the Whig nomination for Presidential candidate.

1850. Delivered before the Senate the *Seventh of March Speech* (called by Webster himself *The Constitution and the Union*), advocating the adoption of Clay's Compromise.

Appointed Secretary of State by President Fillmore.

1852. Again failed to receive the Whig nomination for Presidential candidate.

Died at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts, *October 24th*.

Webster was born before the states were one nation under the Constitution, and his life spanned the period in which this country made the greatest progress ever accomplished by any nation in an equal time. When Washington issued his *Farewell Address*, Webster was a boy on a New Hampshire farm. If Washington, as he finished his plea for loyalty to the Constitution and the preservation of national unity, had looked the country over for one upon whom to cast his mantle, he could have found no better successor than this boy by the plough. As a child Webster had memorized the Constitution from a printed handkerchief that he had saved money enough to buy; and afterward at college he gave much time to the study of constitutional history.

The Constitution did not everywhere receive the same interpretation. When it became necessary to legislate on matters of tariff and slavery, the sections that seemed in danger of losing local and temporary advantages reverted to the Jeffersonian doctrine of state rights and maintained what Senator Calhoun put into his declaration of

1828, namely, that each state had the right to interpret the Constitution for itself, to nullify within its own territory any national laws of which it disapproved, and, ultimately, if these laws were executed by force, to secede from the Union. In other words, his theory reduced the Union to a mere compact between the states, by which the central power would be as weak as it had been under the Articles of Confederation. Before 1833, the issue was over the question of the tariff and the forced collection of customs dues; after 1833, the clamoring of new territories for admission as states pivoted the question on slaveholding.

Throughout his public life Webster combated the doctrine of state rights and stood as the advocate of national unity. Three addresses that he made supporting these convictions have become by-words of our constitutional history. They are his arguments in the Dartmouth College Case, his Reply to Hayne, and his Seventh of March Speech.

The case of Dartmouth College against the State of New Hampshire was instituted because the state had virtually revoked the charter of the College. Webster, as attorney for the College, carried the case to the Supreme Court of the United States and won a decision to the effect that a charter was a contract and that, by the Federal Constitution, a state was prohibited from impairing the obligation of contracts. The importance of Webster's argument and the decision of the court lay in the fact that they tended to strengthen the power and authority of the central government over that of the states.

The "great debate" in the Senate between John Hayne of South Carolina and Webster hinged upon the question of the Government's right to enforce the tariff and to dispose of the public lands. On this occasion

Webster not only supported the authority of the central government but defended New England against the charge of conspiring against the interests of the South. From that moment until his Seventh of March Speech, he was the hero of the Northern States.

When, in 1850, Henry Clay brought before Congress his Compromise, providing terms on which the new territories could be admitted as states, Webster upheld Clay's measures as the only ones that could at that time prevent the breaking up of the Union. In the course of his speech before the Senate on the seventh of March, he maintained that, as slavery was excluded from the great Northwest by the nature of the climate and the soil, it was not therefore necessary for Congress to prohibit its spread, by legislation. This argument seemed to the North to be a weak concurrence with the principles of slave-holding, made in the fear of losing a Presidential nomination. So, while the West and the South were sending for thousands of copies of the speech and proclaiming the orator a second Washington, the Northern Whigs were bitterly upbraiding him; and even to Whittier, the poet of peace, he was "Ichabod," from whom the glory of the Lord had been taken.

From this time almost until his death Webster was shunned by most of his former supporters among the Whig leaders. He had, however, been loyal to the controlling sentiment of his life, "One Country, one Constitution, one Destiny."

SUGGESTED READINGS.

John Bach McMaster, *Daniel Webster*.

Henry Cabot Lodge, *Daniel Webster* (Statesmen Series).

S. A. McCall, *Daniel Webster*.

G. T. Curtis, *Daniel Webster*. 2 vols.

WEBSTER'S

FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION.

1. This uncounted multitude before me, and around me, proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and, from the impulses of a common gratitude, turned reverently to heaven, in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

2. If, indeed, there be any thing in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground, distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June 1775 would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand, a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to suffer and enjoy the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is

natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence, which God allows to men on earth.

3. We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes, and our own existence. It is more impossible for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say, that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great Discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

4. Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men, who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea

continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient colony, forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

5. But the great event, in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate; that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

6. The society, whose organ I am, was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought, that for this object no time could be more propitious, than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted; and that springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain, as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

7. We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious ac-

tions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that, which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know, that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself, can carry information of the events we commemorate, where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit, which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences, which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot, which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish, that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the

place is not undistinguished, where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish, that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event, to every class and every age. We wish, that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish, that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish, that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come on all nations, must be expected to come on us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power still stand strong. We wish, that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

8. We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important, that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent states erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical,

that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve; and the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry; and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi, become the fellow citizens and neighbours of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce, that leaves no sea unexplored; navies, which take no law from superior force; revenues, adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

9. Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones, which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed; and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power, in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated forever.

10. In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge; such the improvements in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and above all in liberal ideas, and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

11. Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here, to enjoy all

the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we hold still among us some of those, who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit, once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

12. VENERABLE MEN! you have come down to us, from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now, where you stood, fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers, and your neighbours, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else, how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewn with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death; — all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with an universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly

to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave forever. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

13. But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amidst this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance, and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived, at least, long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

‘another morn,
Risen on mid-noon;’—

and the sky, on which you closed your eyes, was cloudless.

14. But—ah!—Him! the first great Martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands; whom nothing brought hither, but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit; Him! cut off by Providence, in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling, ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous

blood, like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! how shall I struggle with the emotions, that stifle the utterance of thy name!—Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found, that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

15. But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits, who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary Army.

16. VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days, you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive; at a moment of national prosperity, such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met, here, to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of an universal gratitude.

17. But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, throng to your embraces. The scene

overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces; when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succour in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory; then look abroad into this lovely land, which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad into the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude, which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind.

18. The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested, in the Act for altering the Government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the Port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures every where produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the other colonies would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage, which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns, would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners de-

ceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Every where the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, every where, to show to the whole world, that the colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbours of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place, where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect, and the most indignant patriotism. 'We are deeply affected,' said its inhabitants, 'with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province, greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the Port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours.' These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart, from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an

address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this colony 'is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America.'

19. But the hour drew nigh, which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt, that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

'totamque infusa per artus

Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.'

War, on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plough was staid in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. 'Blandishments,' said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, 'will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.'

20. The 17th of June saw the four New England colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them forever, one cause, one country, one heart.

21. The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate result as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal now lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country, has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

22. To this able vindication of their cause, the colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the

field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than they had recently known in the wars of Europe.

23. Information of these events, circulating through Europe, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion, which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

24. SIR, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy to the living. But, sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

25. Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God, for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain, that the electric spark of Liberty should be conducted, through you, from the new world to the old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner,

McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you, and yours, forever.

26. Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this edifice. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Sir, monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them, this day, to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, Sullivan, and Lincoln. Sir, we have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cælum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

27. The leading reflection, to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years, since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current

beneath, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

28. A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men, in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the *world* will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors, or fellow-workers, on the theatre of intellectual operation.

29. From these causes, important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed, and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails.

This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true, when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce, which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

30. Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made in the last half century, in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn, for a moment, to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years, it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the beforementioned causes of augmented

knowledge and improved individual attention, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, greatly beneficial, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

31. The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

32. We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for making the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great portion of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil.

Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

33. It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular, on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all, into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired, is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has ascertained, and nothing can ascertain, the amount of ultimate product.

34. Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a partici-

pation in its exercise. A call for the Representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

35. When Louis XIV said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian combatant, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions;

‘Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me TO SEE — and Ajax asks no more.’

36. We may hope, that the growing influence of enlightened sentiments will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars, to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more es-

tablished, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments, which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, and add it to other powers, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greece at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age, when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned, should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any who would hazard it.

37. It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction, in our undertaking, to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire it may be smothered for a time;

the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

38. Among the great events of the half century, we must reckon, certainly, the Revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that Revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own Revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states, more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear an useful part in the intercourse of nations. A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but constitutes, itself, the highest and most essential improvement.

39. When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civ-

ilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the 'Continent.' Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there hath been, as it were, a new creation. The Southern Hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

40. And, now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit, which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. And let us endeavour to comprehend, in all its magnitude, and to feel, in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows, that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

41. We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is, to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the Representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No com-

bination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

42. These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, perhaps not always for the better, in form, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that, in our country, any other is impossible. The *Principle* of Free Governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it; immovable as its mountains.

43. And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those are daily dropping from among us, who established our liberty and our government. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for Independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see

whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects, which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four states are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid Monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze, with admiration, forever!

NOTES.

The text of the Oration is from the 1825 edition, the punctuation, showing a liberal use of commas and exclamation points, being the most noticeable feature of the older style.

¶ 1-¶ 5.—This beautiful introduction was the source of much concern to Webster, and its perfect quality shows the care and thought he put on it.

¶ 4.—early and ancient Colony: either Virginia, first settled (1607) at Jamestown on the James River; or Maryland, which grew from the settlement on the St. Mary's (1634). Webster's friend, Edward Everett, who edited the orations before the author's death, refers to the latter.

¶ 6.—solemnities: the masonic ceremonies at the laying of the corner stone.—prayers: offered by the Reverend Joseph Thaxter, who, as chaplain of Colonel Prescott's regiment, had, on Breed's Hill, fifty years before, prayed for the soldiers before the battle began.—cloud of witnesses: See *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 12:1.—We trust . . . grandeur: The monument is a shaft of granite rising two hundred and twenty-one feet from a base thirty feet square; inside are stairs for ascent. The cost of the shaft alone was about \$120,000. It was completed in 1842, and the next year Webster was again called upon to make an address. The oration he then delivered is known as *The Second Bunker Hill Oration*.

¶ 8.—other circumstances: for instance, if this country had not been isolated. Almost all European wars had been of long duration because they had embroiled one neighboring nation after another. Probably no other war had been fought so free from intrigue or taint of personal ambition.—the West: In 1825 the western boundary of this country did not extend beyond that of the Louisiana Purchase; for the Oregon Country was jointly occupied by the United States and England, and Mexico still held the territories of California and Texas.—fellow

citizens: The only remaining territories east of the Mississippi were Michigan, Florida, and Wisconsin (West Virginia was then a part of Virginia); west of the Mississippi, Louisiana and Missouri had been admitted as states.—**neighbors:** Communication between West and East had been facilitated by the construction of roads and canals. (See second note under ¶ 12, p. 35, of the *Farewell Address*.) The National Turnpike had been extended to central Illinois, when, by 1825, expectations of the railroad made it unnecessary to carry it farther. The rapid development of our mining and agricultural resources had hastened the need for canals, the most important then built being the Erie from the Great Lakes to the Hudson River (completed in 1825) and a number from the anthracite coal fields in Pennsylvania to the Delaware River and its navigable branches. At the time of Webster's speech, Pennsylvania was projecting a rail and water route from Philadelphia to the headwaters of the Ohio, which was not completed until 1834. The steam railroad was not in actual use in this country until 1830. A horse railroad, operated from Quincy to the ocean for the express use of the stone workers on the Bunker Hill Monument, was, in 1825, the only railroad in the country. Steamboats were in use on most of the large rivers.—**without taxation:** Webster here means direct taxation. He seems to fall into the popular error of considering the imposition of indirect taxes, such as customs dues, not taxation.

¶ 9.—**revolution:** The Napoleonic Wars, which grew out of the French Revolution, had involved almost every country of Europe and determined new boundary lines. Violence had filled the years from 1791 to 1815.—**colonies . . . nations:** When Napoleon took possession of Spain in 1810, the Spanish colonies in America refused to come under his control. Ferdinand VII, on his return to the throne in 1812, tried to restore the same conditions in the colonies that he had restored in Spain, but having once tasted independence the colonies were unwilling to return to the old yoke. In 1813 they revolted and one after another established their independence. Within the year preceding this address, Peru and Bolivia had each won a final victory over Spain, and the United Provinces of La Plata had bound themselves into the republic of Argentine. These victories following upon the success of Chili and the smaller states; the union of Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela as the republic of

Colombia; and the secession of Brazil from Portugal, had been watched with interest and pride by the United States. In 1823 after twelve years of revolution, the present republics of Central America, except Panama, had likewise effected their independence and formed an alliance among themselves.—**track of the sun:** the tropic of Cancer, the track of the sun's rays from the northern point in its orbit.—**annihilated forever:** The doctrine set forth by President Monroe in his message to Congress in 1823 advocated that America henceforth he considered inviolate from colonization by foreign powers, and that any attempt to force countries in America to accept European forms of government be considered an act unfriendly toward the United States. This virtually made it impossible for Spain, with the help of other nations, to reconquer her rebellious colonies.

¶ **10.—improvements:** The rapid economic changes from 1750 to 1850, due to scientific discoveries, mechanical inventions, and improved business methods, have been termed the "Industrial Revolution."

¶ **11.—some of those . . . 1775:** Forty of the two hundred veterans present had been in the battle of Bunker Hill.

¶ **12.—metropolis:** Boston is plainly visible from the site of the monument.—**ships:** The United States Navy Yard at Charlestown lies at the foot of the hill. Note the deftness with which Webster recalls the British ships that had brought troops and closed the port of Boston.

¶ **13.—Prescott . . . Bridge:** New England patriots who had taken part in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Colonel William Prescott, General Israel Putnam, and John Stark (afterward General) are notably connected with later battles of the Revolution, the last named being the hero of Bennington. (See remark on General Brooks, Introduction, p. 43).—"another morn": See Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book V, lines 310, 311.

¶ **14.—Martyr:** Joseph Warren. He was a practising physician of Boston and one of the first patriot leaders. He delivered a stirring address in the presence of British soldiers, on the anniversary of the Boston Massacre; in 1774 he was chairman of the Committee of Safety and president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. He took part in the Battle of Lexington, was made major-general of the Massachusetts forces, and volunteered as an aide in the work on Breed's Hill.

He was one of the last to retreat and was fatally shot as he left the redoubt.

¶ 18.—**altering the Government:** The Regulation Act of 1774 revoked the Massachusetts charter of 1691, made the upper house of the Colonial Legislature to be appointed by the Crown, increased the powers of the Governor and made him independent of the people.—**shutting up the Port:** The Boston Port Bill (1774) was England's retaliation for the colonists' refusal to pay taxes, and especially for their destruction of the cargo of tea.—**Salem:** The seat of government had been transferred from Boston to Salem.

¶ 19.—“*totamque*,” etc.: See Virgil's *Æneid*, Book VI, lines 726, 727. William Morris's translation reads:

“One soul is shed through all,
That quickeneth all the mass, and with the mighty thing is
blent.”

Quincy: Josiah Quincy, Jr., was a lawyer who had argued in defense of the British soldiers tried for the Boston massacre—a professional duty that required of him exceptional moral and physical courage. He wrote a number of political papers and in 1774 was sent by the patriot leaders on a mission to the Whig leaders in England. Their reply was never delivered, however, for Quincy died of consumption while still at sea, off the coast of Gloucester.

¶ 20.—**four New England colonies:** New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had sent troops. Since 1691 Maine had been under the control of Massachusetts. Vermont was in 1775 known as The New Hampshire Grants, her townships having been deeded by New Hampshire; but as New York also laid claim to this region, it was not until after the Declaration of Independence under a separate organization.

¶ 22.—**more . . . combatants:** The British had about 3,000 men engaged and lost in killed and wounded over 1,000. The Americans had about 1,500, and lost in killed, wounded, and captured, 450 men.

¶ 23.—**one:** Lafayette, whom he later addresses as “Sir.” Lafayette had come to the United States during the latter part of 1824 and had been everywhere received with unbounded enthusiasm. Before his return later in 1825, Congress voted him

a grant of \$200,000 and a township of land. He wrote in a letter, "In all my travels through the country I have made Bunker Hill my Pole-star." His name headed the subscription list for the monument.

¶ 24.—severe: In what sense is the word used?

¶ 25.—Liberty . . . old: Lafayette had been prominent in the liberal movement of the early part of the French Revolution, but he had been unwilling to go to the extremes of the Reign of Terror and during that time of violence had fled to Austria.

¶ 26.—"Serus in cœlum redeas": See Horace's *Odes*, Book I, Ode II, line 45. Lytton's translation: "Stay thy return to heaven."—day . . . eulogy: Lafayette died in Paris in 1834. He had borne a prominent part in the Revolution of 1830 in France.

¶ 28.—Every breeze . . . receive it: Yet at this time neither telegraph nor telephone had been invented; there were as yet no ocean steamships, though two lines (that is, corporations with the sole business of running ships for freight and passenger service, and without interest in the cargo), formed in 1816 and 1822, operated staunch sailing vessels between New York and Liverpool. These boats took about a month to cross. (See also note under ¶ 8.)—marts and exchanges . . . age: During the fifty years preceding there had been formed in this country, and in many countries of Europe, academies; that is, societies for the encouragement and patronage of arts, letters, and sciences. One of the most important of these was the Institut de France, reorganized by Napoleon in 1803. It still exists and consists of many departments, of which the Académie française, which sits in judgment on the course of language and literature, is one. In this country the American Academy of Arts and Sciences had been founded at Boston in 1780; later a similar academy was founded in Connecticut, and one of natural sciences in Philadelphia.—on the theatre: What meaning of "theatre" justifies the use of the preposition "on"?

¶ 29.—supply the place of labor: In England so many craftsmen and other workers had been thrown out of employment by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, that riots had taken place in many towns for the purpose of breaking up the machines. In this country, which was mainly agricultural, the laboring classes had not suffered. (See also note under ¶ 10.)

¶ 30.—wars: See note under ¶ 9.—day of peace: the period

following the congress of European powers at Vienna (1814-1815), which attempted to readjust the politics of Europe, Napoleon having been defeated and captured at Waterloo.—**changing . . . society**: The French Revolution, in spite of its atrocities, and the wars following it brought liberty and material benefits to European peoples sooner than they would have gained them by other means.

¶ **31.—conflagration and terror**: during the Reign of Terror in France, 1793-1794.

¶ **32.**—The sound sense of this paragraph was restated by De Tocqueville in his work entitled *De la Democratie en Amerique* (1835), and by James Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* (1888).—**They were accustomed . . . each**: (See notes under paragraphs 18 and 25, pp. 38 and 39, of the *Farewell Address*.)—**domestic throne . . . encounter**: Louis XVI of France and his queen, Marie Antoinette, were beheaded by the Terrorists. The Revolution in France virtually obliterated feudalism, under which all the land had been divided among privileged aristocrats, and worked by a half starved peasantry, who carried the burden of taxation.—**axe**: the guillotine, by which about 20,000 persons were beheaded during the Reign of Terror.—**adverse . . . religion**: See note under ¶ 26, p. 39, of the *Farewell Address*.)

¶ **33.—popular**: What is the meaning of the word here?—**vulgar**: In what sense does Webster use this word, and how does its meaning differ from that of "popular"?

¶ **35.**—**Louis XIV**: called the "Grand Monarch," King of France, 1643-1715. It is now denied that Louis ever made use of the expression "L'état, c'est moi" ("I am the state"); but it is true that he carried on the government after that principle.—**Grecian combatant**: Ajax, mentioned in the verses following, which are lines 729 and 730 of Book XVII, Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*.

¶ **36.**—**to uphold or to cast down dynasties**: e. g., the French Revolution, which unseated the Bourbon line.—**to regulate successions to thrones**: e. g., the Wars of the Roses in England, between the House of Lancaster and the House of York.—**struggle of the Greeks**: The Greek Revolution against Turkish rule had begun in 1820. Following the policy of Metternich, the Prime Minister of Austria, all the European powers except Russia agreed to uphold Turkey and keep her dominions intact,

since, if she were defeated and the country divided, Russia would gain an opening on the Mediterranean and become too powerful. Thus for years the Greeks had been permitted to struggle along, practising and having practised upon them, the most atrocious cruelties; but public opinion throughout Europe became so strong that, in 1827, England and France with the aid of Russia forced the Sultan to acknowledge the independence of Greece. This he did in 1829. (See also item for 1824 in the outline of Webster's life, Introduction, p. 48.)

¶ 37.—**instruction:** Greece has given us our most valuable models of architecture and sculpture.

¶ 38.—**Revolution of South America:** See second note under ¶ 9.

¶ 39.—**monopoly:** Monarchs frequently gave the entire control and sale of a staple, such as tobacco, to a single person—some favorite or political adherent. Such monopolies hindered the natural development of industry and, by the high prices levied, robbed the people.—**waters of darkness retire:** See *Genesis*, 8:1-11.

¶ 41.—**propagandists:** What is the meaning of the word in connection with what follows? (See note under ¶ 14, p. 35, of the *Farewell Address*.)

¶ 42.—**excitements:** Why not "incitements"? Compare the use of the latter word in ¶ 6 of the *Farewell Address*.

¶ 43.—**Solon:** chief archon, or ruler, of Athens in 594 B.C. As such he remodeled her constitution and formulated a new code of laws.—**Alfred:** Alfred the Great, king of the West Saxons in England, 849-899. Webster uses the expression "founders of states" in the sense of "founders of new or better systems of government."—**one country:** Compare this sentiment with the theme of the *Farewell Address*. When it is recalled that, five years before, it had become necessary to make the Missouri Compromise, that already the country was divided into "free states" and "slave states," and that party politics were rapidly fostering sectional bitterness, we may imagine with what fervor Webster spoke these closing sentences. (See also Introduction, pp. 46 and 50-52.)

LINCOLN'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

INTRODUCTION.

LINCOLN'S *Farewell Address* was delivered at Springfield, Illinois, February 11, 1861. It was inspired by his election to the Presidency in the Presidential campaign of 1860, the results of which were as follows: 1,866,452 votes for Lincoln; 1,376,957 for Douglas; 849,781 for Breckenridge; 588,879 for Bell. It was one of the most keenly fought Presidential elections in our country's history. All of the free states, except New Jersey, were for Lincoln; Breckenridge led in all of the slave holding states, except Missouri, which was won by a few hundred votes by Douglas. Bell led in Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. South Carolina seceded from the Union on December 20th, 1860, and during the following month, in January, was followed in secession by the states of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Events were moving quickly. A Constitution of the Confederacy was adopted on February 8, 1861. Lincoln was steadily refusing to go to Washington and was giving commands to his party to reject the Crittenden Compromise. It was a critical time. A task more difficult than that which confronted Washington now faced him. On February 11, a change came, and Lincoln decided to set out for Washington. Before going he delivered a farewell address to friends in Springfield. To this town he had come an unknown country lawyer.

He had learned to love it with a deep devotion and the words of this memorable address showed the depth of feeling Lincoln had for the town and its people. His last request to his partner in law was that the name Lincoln be not removed from the office sign—for some day he would come back home.

LINCOLN'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

MY FRIENDS: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place and to the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and here one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him, who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

LINCOLN'S THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

INTRODUCTION.

LATE in the year 1863, just before the first meeting of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, representatives of the State of Pennsylvania at Washington developed the idea of creating a cemetery on the battle ground of Gettysburg for the burial of the dead of that memorable struggle of the Civil War. The orator engaged for the occasion was Edward Everett, whose reputation as a public speaker at that time was very high. It was desired that Lincoln attend the celebration not as an orator but that the people might see him. Because the Civil War was then in a very critical stage, difficulty was experienced in getting the consent of Lincoln. It was finally possible for Lincoln to go, however, and it is doubtful if any member of his Cabinet or other member of the Government went to Gettysburg with him.

When the ceremonies for the dedication began Mr. Everett arose and delivered his oration, and, according to report of observers at the time, he paid no attention to his manuscript whatever. Evidently he had learned it by heart. At its conclusion there was no applause. Lincoln then arose and delivered the famous address now before us for study. According to the Honorable Cornelius Cole, Representative in Congress from California 1863-64, who was present on the occasion, Lincoln had neither note nor

writing of any kind but delivered the address extempore, and the beautiful words he said were called forth by the circumstances of the occasion. There is a general impression that Lincoln on his journey from Washington to Gettysburg made a rough draft of his Gettysburg speech, but Mr. Cole believes there is no foundation for such a statement. A scholarly analysis of the *Gettysburg Address* tends to bear out this point of view. It will be remembered that Lincoln was not expected to be the orator of the day. He delivered his address in a most agreeable and pleasing manner. Lincoln possessed none of the graces of the orator, but his broad sympathies, honest convictions, and his clear and simple statements of a case won for him prominence on all occasions. People listening to him at Gettysburg were rather startled at the brevity of what he had to say and seemed to be disappointed, as there was no applause when Lincoln sat down. Evidently a great deal more had been expected of him. It is doubtful if Lincoln himself realized the full beauty of what he had said in this memorable address. Only now is the world beginning to realize the matchless logic and the succinct power of the words that Lincoln had to say on this occasion. Engraved on the tablets of stone and brass in public buildings all over our land, printed in schoolbooks and gift editions of many publishers, a theme of ineffaceable memory in the minds and hearts of Lincoln admirers all over the world, the words of the *Gettysburg Address* have an assured place with the immortal of literature. (See Notes.)

The following is an outline of Lincoln's life:

1809. Born at Hardin, Kentucky, *February 12*.

1810. Abraham Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks, died.

1810-1830. Lincoln spent this part of his life as a simple farm

laborer either on his father's poor farm or by hiring out to neighboring farmers. His schooling had to be obtained during odd times spared from labor, and it included only the elements of writing, reading, and ciphering.

- 1830-1832. A trip down the Mississippi and work at odd jobs, giving him his first glimpse of slavery, which he determined if the chance came to "hit that thing and hit it hard."
1832. Lincoln enlisted upon the call of the Governor of Illinois in the Black Hawk War and was elected by vote Captain of his company. Defeated as a candidate for legislature of Illinois.
1835. Love affair with Anne Rutledge. Elected member of the State Legislature and held that office for eight years, during which he qualified in law and politics.
1836. Admitted to the bar. Love affair with Mary Owens.
1837. Settled in Springfield, Illinois. Partner of J. T. Stewart.
1838. Minority candidate for speaker.
1840. Stumped the state for Harrison.
1841. Engagement to Mary Todd broken. Challenged to a duel by J. T. Shields. Partner of Judge S. T. Logan.
1842. Lincoln married Miss Mary Todd of Kentucky on November 4th.
1843. Lincoln nominated for Congress by the Whigs and defeated. Partnership begun with W. H. Herndon.
1844. Candidate for Presidential election on the Whig ticket. Stumped Illinois and Indiana for Henry Clay.
1846. Elected to Congress.
- 1847-1848. In Congress.
1849. Practiced law in Eighth Judicial Circuit of Illinois.

- 1852. Campaigned for Scott.
- 1854. Elected to Illinois Legislature.
- 1855. Resigned from State Legislature to become candidate to United States Senate; defeated.
- 1856. Bloomington Speech, May 19th.
- 1857. Address on the Dred Scott decision, June 26th.
- 1858. Divided House Speech at Springfield, June 17th.
- 1859. Douglas elected to the United States Senate by the Illinois Legislature.
- 1860. Cooper Union Address in New York, February 27th. Nominated for Presidency by the Republican Party in May and elected in November.
- 1861. February 11th, *Farewell Address*. Inaugurated President March 4th.
- 1863. *Emancipation Proclamation*, January 1st; *Gettysburg Address*, November 19th.
- 1864. Lincoln was nominated for second term and elected by an overwhelming majority.
- 1865. Assassinated by John Wilks Booth, *April 15th*.

SUGGESTED READINGS.

- Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln's Writings*.
Ida M. Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*.
Brand Whitlock, *Abraham Lincoln*.
Charles Schurz, *Abraham Lincoln: An Essay*.
A. T. Rice, *Reminiscences of Lincoln*.
Mrs. Mary Wright-Davis, *The Book of Lincoln*.
W. H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Abraham Lincoln*.

LINCOLN'S

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

Delivered at the Dedication of the National Cemetery
at Gettysburg, November 15, 1863.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us,—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion,—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

NOTES.

Edward Everett to Lincoln, Nov. 20, 1863, Nicolay and Hay:

“My dear Sir:—

“Permit me to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes.”

“A dedication so brief yet so comprehensive, so terse, yet so eloquent, linking the deeds of the present to the thoughts of the future, with simple words in such living, original, yet exquisitely molded maxim-like phrases, that the best critics have awarded it an unquestioned rank as one of the world’s masterpieces of rhetorical art.”
—Nicolay and Hay.

Seth Low, Mayor of New York, at the unveiling of the statue of General Slocum on the field of Gettysburg, September 19, 1902, said: “The battle of Gettysburg is looked upon, by common consent, as the crisis of the Civil War. Not only did it stop the invasion of the Northern States, but it marked the last effort of the Confederacy to assume the offensive. It literally turned the tide of war. This little eminence of Cemetery Hill, therefore, seems to be, in a sense, the great divide of American history. On the other side of it the stream of American history, however brightly it flashes in the sun, is tinged with the dark stain of human slavery; on this side of it, the stream of American history runs clean and clear, singing the song of freedom for black and white alike, as it seeks the ocean of eternity.”

No. 15-15 Sect. 14 Shelf 3

CONTENTS

Lincoln National Life Foundation
Collateral Lincoln Library

71.2009.084.02861

